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Y U G O S L A V I A

Mar. 10, 1959

YUGOSLAV-GREEK DISAGREEMENT DENIED

Belgrade, TANYUG, in English Hellschreiber to Europe, Mar. 9, 1959, 1210 GMT-- (UNCLASSIFIED)

(Text) Belgrade--A spokesman of the State Secretariat for Foreign Affairs today declared to TANYUG's diplomatic editor:

"Referring to reports carried by some newspapers about the alleged disagreements between Evangelos Averoff, Foreign Minister of Greece, and Koca Popovic, Yugoslav Foreign Minister, I can declare that nothing has happened that might disturb the existing friendly relations between the two ministers, that in this connection there are no disagreements between them and that, therefore, any speculations in this connection are out of place."

TITO SPEECH MARKS RETURN TO BELGRADE

Belgrade, Serbian Home Service, Mar. 7, 1959, 1512 GMT--M (UNCLASSIFIED)

(Live broadcast of Tito's Mar. 7 speech on his return to Belgrade)

(Text) Comrades, allow me first to express the enormous joy of all of us who have returned to our glorious Belgrade after a long visit to friendly countries, and to thank you for this majestic welcome and your greetings.

Allow me at the same time to give to you all, and to all the people of Yugoslavia, many, many warm greetings and best wishes from the peoples of the countries we visited. We visited countries which have a total of nearly 600 million inhabitants. We saw that 600 million people are united in their desire to live in peace and build a better life. We met full understanding when we established contact with them--full understanding of their own difficulties and of our difficulties and aspirations.

Our aim this time was not only to pay courtesy visits to the countries which had invited us, but also to make good use of our time to exchange opinions with the statesmen and leading people of those countries.

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We were fully able to do so because the leaders of those countries were ready to listen to us and we were ready to listen to them. I do not want to talk about the problems which we discussed there. You learned that from the documents which were issued. But I can say that an unbelievable identity of views existed between us on all the more important problems concerning today's international relations and questions. Also, we naturally discussed with them the strengthening of our bilateral and mutual relations, our mutual cooperation in the economic and cultural fields, and so forth.

All the peoples whom we visited and whose hospitality and feelings we are not able to describe--because the warm welcome which they showed us defies description--all those peoples feel great affection for the peoples of Yugoslavia. They have great confidence in us and in our people. You know--we spoke about this during our tour--the basis of and the reason for the confidence which these peoples feel is based on Yugoslavia's principled attitude, let us say courageous attitude, and open expression of views on all questions irrespective of whether anyone likes it or not.

That impresses people because they believe that international relations should be marked by sincerity and international understanding. On this occasion we had, naturally, one joint aim--to contribute to the strengthening of those international forces which are concerned about peace and which want to develop peacefully. We saw that these forces are immense. A total of 600 million inhabitants of the countries which we visited, apart from those who live outside that area, that is, 1 billion people, all strive toward one single aim today--toward preventing the new catastrophe of mankind.

This was our basic task during our great and long tour. We did not travel to seek entertainment as some of our neighbours said we did. We did not travel in order to undermine anybody's authority. We traveled as protagonists of peace, in order to work toward pacification in the world. If anyone is guilty of mistrust felt for some countries, then it is the leaders themselves of those countries who are guilty, and we did not say one word against any country nor any leader, because that does not conform to our methods and would be contrary to our policy--the policy of coexistence among peoples and nations irrespective of internal social systems.

We were extraordinarily surprised, even astounded, to note that during our visit to Indonesia Chou En-lai, a well-known Chinese statesman, appealed to the Indonesian people not to believe us and not to welcome us as warmly as they did, because we worked for the interests of imperialism.

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It is natural that the people of Indonesia ask themselves in bewilderment: Why this? because they know what we have said, they know what our country represents in the world, they know that our country is peaceful, they know that we have courageously fought inside and outside the United Nations for peace and international cooperation and for good relations among peoples, and yet we are treated in this manner.

It is natural that it is not we who lose anything through such statements; in reality the authors of such statements sow seeds of mistrust toward themselves. (Applause) We too are asking ourselves: What is this? Why did they not like our tour in many Eastern countries? In the West they are more intelligent; so they have kept quiet about this, though I believe that none of them like it in their hearts.

What has found its clear expression in this connection is that they do not like our policy--the policy of coexistence, the policy, let me say, of consistent struggle so that peoples and states may have equal and beneficial relations and so that international tension may be relaxed. We support the idea that cooperation among peoples and states is possible, irrespective of what their internal systems are.

And there are those people who do not like that. What else do they not like? They know that Yugoslavia is not a great power which threatens these Asian and African peoples with a colonial system. They know that very well. What bothers them then? They are bothered by Yugoslavia's influence, the possibility of our (influencing?) in favor of coexistence, of equality, and so forth.

That bothers them, and this found its clear expression in all the articles and attacks against our country. Comrades, I would not speak about this today, but I must speak because for three months I have kept silent, for three months I listened to these attacks against our country and policy. Yes, comrades, not once but many times we were asked: What is this? Why do they attack you like this? People say: It is impossible that this is ideological. You can have ideological differences, but these Draconic attacks against you have no place in interstate relations.

We avoided, as much as possible, open replies to these questions. I think that people understood us, that they understood why we did not want to discuss in their countries the problems which caused our country and leaders to be constantly exposed to attacks both in the press and in various speeches. Then I said to myself: "We shall speak when we are in our country, on our soil, then we shall say what we think about these things." (Applause) And really, comrades, when we try to evaluate this propaganda against us and what it has achieved, we can say that it equals zero.

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On the contrary, the prestige of our country has grown; the more they attack it, the greater its reputation among all the peaceful people of the world. I wish these attackers could have been with us, in all these countries, to see the peoples there expressing, through us, their friendly feelings and immense confidence. Then they would think differently--and their thinking is very shallow.

For instance, there are very serious reports for instance in the Prague communist press--I will not mention what the press of our little neighbor says because that surpasses all limits--but what I want to say is that this is the press of countries whose people, I believe, have nothing against us, whose people have maintained the best of relations with us for centuries. And yet the press of those countries says that we were ordered to make this distant tour, says that we are creating a third bloc.

No, comrades, they know that this is not true. We have always been against a third bloc because we are against every bloc--we are against the two blocs, let alone a third one. (Applause)

We know that this would bring nothing good and that it is not necessary to create it because, among those whom they accuse of creating a third bloc--that is, among all these peoples and us--there exists such unanimity as is not known in either of the two blocs.

This moral strength is so great that it must be taken into account in the world today when important international problems are considered or when it finally comes to considering them. We do not, and we say this openly, even think of creating a third bloc, but we want to create unity of the people to resist all attempts to upset peace again and against bringing about a catastrophe, such as that of World War II.

Our aim is to achieve such conditions of life and such international relations as will make it possible for every nation to develop according to its ability and according to its internal needs, and the possibilities at its disposal.

Comrades, allow me--I shall speak about these things again--to bring up here certain things to which it is my duty to reply. For instance, it is not possible for me, because we have no (word indistinct), but still I must speak about certain things expressed at the 21st CPSU congress. There we were attacked, and every possible sin was ascribed to us. It is charged that we are leading the international workers movement astray, that we are causing dissension among the countries of the socialist camp, and that we are convincing the world that there are two camps.

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I am not trying to convince anyone. The whole world knows that there is a socialist camp and that there is a Western camp--that is, the Western bloc of powers. I do not want to speak of the Atlantic pact and the Warsaw pact, but there are two sides which are engaged daily, both in conflict and in negotiations. They exist and, accordingly, I do not have to convince anyone (few words indistinct). As for the Balkan pact, the assertion that we are members of the Atlantic pact through the Balkan pact is a fabrication. You know what the status of the Balkan pact has been now for years. It has, so to say, fallen asleep. Nor do we plan to revive it, because if we planned to do so we would refute everything we said during this three-month tour of distant Asian and African countries which are opposed to pacts. They would then ask: "Why are you talking against pacts when you yourself are in the Atlantic pact?"

Yes, to this Balkan pact, which was created from a military standpoint, we have given a different character, that of better cooperation. And this cooperation, with Greece alone, is now being maintained at a level which should be maintained among friendly and allied countries.

We would like, of course, to have such relations with Turkey as well in economic, cultural, and other fields, but not in the military field--because this represents indeed, how should I put it, an element of stability in this part of the world. But we are not indirect members of the Atlantic pact, because we have always been, we are, and we shall always be against the Atlantic pact as such. This is because we consider that pacts do not benefit mankind, that pacts are temporary things that are already outdated, and that it is already time to proceed with serious negotiations and talks--regardless of how long they take and without brandishing arms, the arms race, and so forth. For these reasons we are against these pacts. (Applause)

Comrade Khrushchev accused us of all sorts of (sins?)--of receiving American aid. He knows very well that we were receiving it before, and when I told him that we were receiving it he said: "It is good that you are getting it. If they are offering it, accept it." And now, at the congress, all of a sudden, it became convenient to emphasize that, since we are accepting American aid, there must be something behind it. There is nothing behind it. Every one of our citizens knows that. We have always openly stated that we do not want any aid from anybody if it is given on conditions, political or otherwise. And we are getting aid from America.

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It is sad, comrades, that a Soviet statesman should warn American capitalists in the United States that they are mad to give us aid because we will deceive them. That is like saying that they could buy us every year for 100 million dollars. No, not even billions can ever buy us. We are such people, we are such a country, we cannot be bought. (Applause) And this is an answer to those who are indeed, how should I say, undertaking a strange action against our country.

It is said at the congress that we betrayed the interests of the working class, that we are trying to wreck the international movement, and that we are reducing the role of the party. Let them look at the role played by the communist party in our country. Our party is now playing the decisive role in the building of socialism in our country. (Cheering) But our party works in the interest of our people, it works in a manner which our people considers best and in which our communists have learned to work. We, of course, are not receiving directives from outside. We work according to our own idea of how to work.

Ans, what is most characteristic, Comrade Khrushchev accuses us of attacking Chinese communists. What do you know, we are now drastically attacking them! If only all that they write about us, say about us--using abusive language against us--was read. But if we from time to time answer all this, then we are accused of attacks. No, we are not attacking Chinese communists, we are attacking those--with whom, I believe, a great part of Chinese communists do not agree--who are against us, who are adopting such a hostile and (word indistinct) attitude toward a country which, in its history--and especially in its recent history--showed that it is not living only for itself but also for all those who are being oppressed in the world. That is, it made, and it is still making, sacrifices--especially as regards international solidarity.

They cannot accuse us of anything in this respect. We have always been in first place when it was necessary to show in a concrete manner (what is meant?) by international solidarity. Who showed international solidarity in 1941? Who of those slandering us today, (several words indistinct) (Cheering and chanting) waged the struggle against the greatest menace to mankind, against fascism? We were the ones--the Yugoslav communists, the Yugoslav people--who did not think about the consequences and who bled for four years fighting in the fascist fortress. Their true duty of internationalists is the way we carried it out. And after the war, and now, and in the future, they have no right to accuse us of anything.

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Besides, comrades, this is a bit disloyal when we are being attacked in the papers, over the radio, and so forth, when we are being accused of various things which are incorrect. When (things are being invented?) which are not true at all, and while at the same time not one word is being printed from the documents which are actually the reflection of these talks (several words indistinct). Let them show us one paper which published any of these communiques. There is not one. Why? Because, of course, by doing this they would deny what they are talking about. (Sentence indistinct) Is this loyal? Is this, could we say, a correct and honest policy? It is not.

Of course, do not think that only their people can see this. This is also seen by the people which we visited, by people in the world. And they ask why our opinions are not being reported, (few words indistinct)? But you see, they are very shortsighted.

For instance, when this campaign started they were impatient to see when this Tito would start to attack any particular country or the lot of them. And they waited in vain. And when they saw that nothing was happening they started (attacking everything?). Of course, they do it in their own way. They pay visits to each other. This is like a crossword puzzle--this one visit that one, then that one visits the other one, and then the other one visits the first one, and so forth--only to raise a whole series of accusations against Yugoslavia.

You see, we are not like them, we do it differently. When we go somewhere, we behave as a guest who enjoys the hospitality of another country--namely, we do not resort to incitement against another country and talk about things which mutually concern us and not a third country. We did not do what they did (several words indistinct).

I know that today and tomorrow there will be many bitter answers to this, my--how should I put it--answer to them. But what I can do? We must answer them and not let them think that we shall keep silent in the future. No, we shall answer them now (cheering) in the same measure, if not in the same manner, but we shall answer them. (Chanting: If they want it, we shall tell them. We are all here now)

Comrades, it is really ridiculous to talk on the one hand of how good the Yugoslav people are, of how they fought, and of how honest they are while, on the other hand, saying that their leaders are not good. How could the people be all right if (they follow leaders who are not all right?). I ask you? They cannot be. They know this. Then know that they cannot even push their finger into our unity. They know, (cheering) but they need for their own domestic reasons. (Applause)

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I would have been very glad if some of them could have been with me yesterday and today to watch our journey and to see this "disunity" among our people--like a rock, a unified firm will, with determination to resist any attempt to destroy our internal unity which has given us up to now such rich fruits and which has truly enabled us to overcome the greatest and the most awkward difficulties. They will not succeed in this.

Furthermore, they say that they are for peace, for cooperation in the interstate field. Just think of it: On the one hand they say that we should cooperate, while on the other hand they call us all sorts of names, even that we are fascists and agents. How can they cooperate with agents?

We are not only a (party?), we communists. We are part of the people--so firmly bound with the people that it is impossible to separate us. And, therefore, our state affairs--all our actions--are directed toward the same goal: to strengthen our country, to strengthen our construction, to guard our unity, and to strengthen friendship with nations which so desire on the basis of equality. They cannot improve relations if they are slandering us with all sorts (of things?).

Yes, we are in favor of discussions if there are theoretical disagreements. But I do not see the great theoretical disagreements, I do not see them. There are, of course, some which appeared as a result of practice, practice of socialist construction in their countries as well as in ours. The question now is whether these matters should be (determined?) equally for the whole world or whether there are really various possibilities of solving socialist construction. This is a question for discussion, but this should not be brought forth with such bitterness, such hate, as in their propaganda against us.

How can they allow some leaders in Albania or Bulgaria or elsewhere--in such an uncontrolled, irresponsible, hostile, and warmongering manner--to attack our country and our leaders? They can prevent this, (several words indistinct) differently from the others until they prevent this. And only then can we talk about the improvement of relations between us, because we want good relations. We want (them?) because we are realists and we know that one day we must have good relations. It is not permissible, though, to say: We too want good relations when (the other side?) will not be there. But we shall be here as long as it is physically possible, as long as we have the mental ability, and as long as the people (want us?). Nobody else can remove us from this place. (Cheering)

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Comrades, this much for the present in reply to all these various accusations and insults leveled against our country. We shall other opportunities to speak about this. Today I do not want to speak more generally of what I dealt with in Skoplje. I want to say also that the irredentist campaign led by various Zhivkovs and Envers has very little in common with socialist relations and with internationalism.

That can exist only among some extreme imperialist and capitalist countries as it did in the past. What kind of leaders of socialist countries are these who have started to allude in connection with socialist Yugoslavia that various things should be corrected, that one part or another of it should be separated, denying the right of a whole nation to its national individuality?

Comrades, there is another thing I should like to mention here. In the Albanian Parliament it has been said that the question of the Kossovo and Methohija minorities will be taken to the United Nations against Yugoslavia. If anyone takes anything there, then it is we, the Yugoslavs, who should move the question of the hostile warmongering campaign organized by some Albanian leaders, because their country, too, is a member of the United Nations and in the U.N. Charter there is a paragraph forbidding such activity.

I think that we shall have to give more serious consideration to this one day if this wild pack hunt does not stop. (Applause and shouts of approval)

Comrades, allow me now to return to our tour of the countries which we visited and to what we discussed there. As for the international situation, these peoples are as worried as much as we are because of today's confusion in international relations and they, the same as we do, want to contribute as much as possible to peace.

They are peoples who won their independence and freedom only recently. They have had bitter experiences with those who ruled their countries as colonies. But all these peoples want to forget what happened, they want to forget the hard days when they languished in colonial slavery, they want good relations both with the West and East.

Just as we, they are against discrimination and in favor of everything that would improve relations between themselves and the West, but there is much which the West, especially some colonial powers, finds it difficult to stop practicing.

Though liberated, these countries are still underdeveloped. They still need a lot and have grave difficulties, because when aid is granted to them attempts are always made to levy conditions. This is the thing that worries them, the reason why they will find it difficult to feel confidence in those countries that owe them a lot and who are obligated to do something for them.

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Those countries which are now in the first stage of development need a lot of help. Their peoples are making a tremendous effort to gain what history denied them, that is, what was denied them by those who were the masters of their countries.

We extensively discussed our bilateral relations with the leaders of these countries. We discussed how and in what way we could best cooperate in the economic field, too, to mutual benefit. It is clear that we promised that we would do everything we could, within the limits of our present material possibilities, to help them, though they say that in their aspirations moral support, too, is very important to them.

Material support is also needed in that respect, but the question is not only that of material support. The question is, in fact, that of mutual economic cooperation which has great perspectives and possibilities, because Yugoslavia is becoming an industrial country and has possibilities to cooperate in this field as well, while at the same time those countries abound in various products which we need very much. All that has to be done is to direct our attention toward that goal.

But, in this respect I should like to make our people who are responsible for these things understand that this economic cooperation must be adequate to our political cooperation, that it must stay on the same level as the latter, and that it must be beneficial to both sides, without trying to gain something today, without thinking of what will happen tomorrow.

I mean to say that those peoples deserve to be dealt with and to be cooperated with in a manner worthy of the best friends that can possibly be imagined. These then are the things we discussed there. While there we became acquainted with their various possibilities and with their development and difficulties. That enriched our knowledge of those countries. We came to know the most important thing--the soul of those peoples, those wonderful peoples who clearly want only to be masters of their countries and somehow, if not rapidly then gradually, to catch up with the developed countries and achieve a higher cultural level and a higher standard of living. (Cheering)

Comrades, this is briefly what I can tell you now, and I may add too that all of us who went on this distant journey are very satisfied. I would like you to become convinced soon, and you will become convinced that our trip was of enormous benefit both to our country and to the preservation of peace in the world, to which, also, our long journey was dedicated. (Cheering)

Long live our socialist community. Long live the friendship among the people of Asia and Africa and Yugoslavia. Long live the friendship among all peace-loving peoples. (Applause and chanting: "Tito, Tito")

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Tito Speech at Nis

Belgrade, Serbian Home Service, Mar. 7, 1959, 1400 GMT--M (UNCLASSIFIED)

(Recording of Mar. 7 speech at Nis railway station)

(Text) Comrades, I cordially thank you on behalf of us all for this magnificent welcome and warm reception. We are very happy to see that our people feel and understand in such a manner our efforts in our foreign policy, a policy of promoting peace in the world. The countries which we visited, that is, the people of these countries, received us very warmly and amiably. Our flag was hoisted in eight countries, in the streets and on the buildings. We were (received?) as close and great friends. I can say, therefore, that Yugoslavia can be proud of enjoying such reputation. We experienced a new, how should I put it, strong feeling of pleasure because we saw that the forces of peace are so very great and so strong and that they are increasing every day.

On these two continents which we visited, there is nobody who considers war a necessity for mankind. People hate war just as you do. These people are afraid of war, they want peace. They are fully aware of the fact that a new war would be a catastrophe for them as well as the fact that it would push them once again into colonial slavery and prevent them from preserving their independence. They are, therefore, very devoted to peace and highly esteem Yugoslavia. They know that Yugoslavia is a very active fighter for peace, and they appreciate this very much.

Throughout our whole tour, we kept meeting various people, peasants, and other citizens. We did not notice anywhere any reservation or suspicion toward Yugoslavia. All these people have deep confidence in us. They have our (word indistinct). Unfortunately, how should I put it, it is a misfortune that Yugoslavia is not richer and bigger, so that it could help these people, countries, and nations more. However, they also appreciate moral support which we are extending to them. They appreciate our support in the United Nations. They know that we never take our personal interests into consideration when there is a question of the welfare and interests of the peoples who only just gained freedom and independence or who still suffer under the colonial yoke.

Asia is mainly free, and the Asian peoples freed themselves. In Africa, the peoples are awakening and the pressure by these peoples under the colonial yoke is increasing daily. They are struggling, (struggling as much as they can?), because they want to become masters in their own house.

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And we are happy that we have seen that these nations which freed themselves from this colonial slavery are not forgetting the others, and that they too, just like us, struggle against colonial slavery, against the rule of other nations over them. We are happy that we have seen that peoples of these countries, especially on the African Continent, are determined to defend what they have achieved and that they are firmly determined not to allow others to interfere in their domestic affairs.

We should not worry about the fact that they are still very suspicious and have great (misgivings?) and mistrust for the European nations. That is not for the people but for the European governments; because of their past, bloody and hard, it is very difficult to trust them. Unfortunately, (this mistrust?) is well based because attempts are still being made by those who once ruled these colonies and many others to exploit the difficulties which exist in these countries and to impose their influence. (Several words indistinct) We do not belong to these nations in Europe, we belong in Europe... (Tito corrects himself--Ed.) Our place in Europe is indeed the one which corresponds to the dignity of our people, that is, that we unselfishly contribute to the cause of peace and unselfishly contribute to the liberation of colonial peoples from, how should I put it, (submission?).

We have returned to our country enriched with the knowledge that Yugoslavia can count on the firm support of the peoples of all (countries?) which we visited, just as well as they can be (word indistinct) firmly convinced that we shall together struggle for the preservation of peace and equal relations among nations. In the present (uncertain?) world situation this is required more than ever, because the (idea?) that anything can be solved by force is still dominating and because (the great powers?) pay little attention to the aspirations of small nations and underdeveloped countries and consider that they have the main and decisive word and that others should only obey and listen.

Just because of this, these Asian and African peoples understand us and are very glad to see that a numerically small country has such a determined attitude in its foreign policy. This is giving them the confidence to follow the same road--that is, that they lead their own policy and that they want to be masters on their own soil.

I am extending to you, on behalf of all peoples we visited, many cordial greetings and best wishes for further success in our domestic development.

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